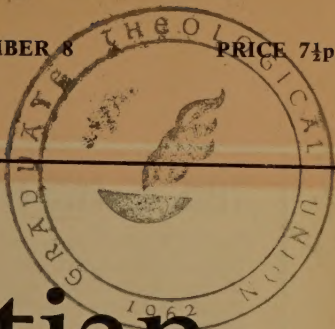


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# Christian Order

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# Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

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## The New Monopolists

THE EDITOR

AS a further example of paradox within the contemporary Church, let us turn to the question of Capitalism. It is the in-thing now, amongst the *avant-garde*, to condemn it as intrinsically evil. This, of course, is double-speak; the old trick of identifying the system with its abuse and condemning the former out of hand. So far as the abuses of Capitalism are concerned, the most pronounced, perhaps, is that which takes concrete form in the establishment of unfettered monopoly power, the unscrupulous manipulation of a free market by employers to build up positions of economic strength, which are used, in their turn, to deny to others the benefits, which any free market brings in its train. Through their manoeuvres, monopoly capitalists place themselves in full or relatively full command of a product or supply of labour, and are enabled, in consequence, to take by extortion from those to whom they sell or from whom they buy, an amount that is clearly contrary to the canons of justice. They have used their freedom to deny it to others, thereby fashioning for themselves positions of power from which they proceed to impose their will on the community, dictating to its members how they shall live and shaping their lives. What they do is not in the service of the community, but at its expense; their gains are those of the train bandit.



Now, the interesting thing is that this is what is being done by the *avant-garde* in the Church at the present time. Those who are so ready and so loud with their condemnations of contemporary Capitalism in the economic and social fields, have used the techniques of monopoly capitalists to build themselves positions of power in the life of the Church from which they seek to impose their will on the Catholic community. More specifically, their cry has been for freedom in the Church, for liberalism; above all, for what they call democracy. This has been given them now in a multitude of areas within the Church. They have then used their new freedom to build up, with the help of extremely dubious methods, positions of strength from which—in defiance very often of an over-indulgent and timid authority—they have proceeded to impose their will, in matters of doctrine and morals, on the rest of the Catholic community, whose members are left without redress because channels of power and means of communication are firmly in progressive hands. In this way, the great mass of the Faithful are forced to stand by helpless, whilst the Faith of their Fathers is corroded before their eyes. Meanwhile, in the economic and social fields, the *avant-garde* continues its condemnation of Monopoly Capitalism, whose very methods they themselves employ with such ruthlessness in the field of Faith and Morals. The hypocrisy of such a proceeding is stark and apparent to all who are capable of a moment's reflection on matters such as these.

Let us take some examples. In the field of Catechetics and Religious Instruction, the abuse of the freedom given to priests, religious and lay teachers has led to the build-up on monopoly lines in this country of a well-knit catechetical establishment, strongly under the influence of secularized, process-theology, which is teaching children in Catholic schools, not the Faith of their Fathers, but a new faith. In face of its depredations, Bishops appear timid and frightened; parents, in consequence, are helpless. They are confronted in too many cases with the unpleasant alternatives of taking their children away from Catholic schools or leaving them

there, to have their Faith, in too many cases, destroyed before their eyes. Again, in religious orders and congregations, the few are using their new freedom to come together behind superiors' backs and build up positions of strength, from which they proceed to work for the imposition on all of practices totally alien to the spirit and tradition of their order or congregation. In very many cases they are succeeding, against the wishes of the vast majority (who will not engage in monopoly practices as a means to power) because of the timidity, in face of this new monopoly strength, of religious superiors. Again, in the field of social and political policy, Progressives who breathe together force themselves on to parish and diocesan and national councils and commissions; onto which, through a further exercise of monopoly power, they bring more like themselves; then proceed, through yet another exercise of monopoly power, to set up and pack with those of kindred, progressive mind a whole host of committees and sub-committees staffed very often by faceless little men, who are attracted by the lure of anonymous power. Out of all this comes something called policy, which is described as drawn up by "representatives of the Catholic Body in England and Wales", which a timid episcopate approves of and to which all are asked to subscribe.

And all this is advanced in the name of democracy, put forward as one of the enormous benefits flowing from the priceless boon of new-found freedom within the Church. One wonders whether hypocrisy could ever go further. The real truth of the matter is that we have not been freed from anything since Vatican II: rather have we been given the first touch of a new faceless tyranny run by little men. It will stifle us all unless the bishops take the steps they should to smash this unpleasant brand of guided democracy. The true home of that, by the way, is the Soviet Union.

Discussion of affairs in Portugal since the coup has tended to overrate the impact of the guerillas on that country's African Territories and to underrate that of Portugal's black soldiers who have been fighting them. The aim of this article is to right the imbalance.

# Portugal's Black Soldiers

CZESLAW JESMAN

**T**HE black soldiers of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, however we choose to qualify these territories, have been largely kept out of the limelight during the recent events which have taken place in Portugal itself. In the long run, however, they are bound to prove a decisive factor not only in Africa, but also, indirectly, are they liable to play a considerable part in the future destiny of Portugal itself. In view of this, some statistics and some historical facts concerning the African soldiers serving under the Portuguese flag in Africa will not be out of place.

At present, there are sixty thousand troops serving in Angola, sixty thousand in Mozambique, twenty-seven thousand in Guinea-Bissau and approximately fifteen thousand in the lesser territories of Sao Tome, the Cape Verde Islands and Cabinda. In all, about sixty per cent. of all these troops are black. Some of them, in peace time, have served in the metropolitan territory of Portugal on a rotation basis, at least since the end of World War II. In the forties and fifties, very few of Portugal's black soldiers rose to commissioned rank. However, since the outbreak of the present troubles in Angola in March, 1961, an ever-increasing number of Portugal's black soldiers have attained commissioned rank and, in some cases, have been placed in command of white, metropolitan troops. Many have been decorated for bravery in the fighting with FRELIMO and



MPLA guerillas and, of these, some have received the Tower and Sword, Portugal's highest decoration for valour, instituted by King Alfonso V in 1495 for acts of exceptional bravery in fighting the "infidel enemy"; at that time, the Muslims in North Africa. In Angola alone, some thirty-five African officers hold staff appointments.

In the Portuguese army, there are no special all-black units: its twenty-five regiments of infantry and seventeen of artillery all have their share of African personnel. In Mozambique, however, there are three special-service, all-black formations. These are the "*Flechas*" or "Arrow" Commando and two squadrons of anti-guerilla paratroops, which include many ex-frelimo partisans. Africans are found also in the Portuguese Navy and there are a few in the Air Force. Colour is no bar to the specialised branches of Portugal's three Services. In Portugal's overseas territories, there are no colourful, local units of the sort that were so characteristic of the French and British forces in Africa and India during colonial rule. More prosaically, Angolans and Mozambiquans serve in their own countries in the ranks of military organizations, which are, up to a considerable point, their own. In this connection, one rather surprising aspect of the Portuguese military set-up in Africa is usually glossed over. One cause of the recent change of regime in Portugal was the reluctance of the metropolitan population to serve under arms: national service meant four years with the colours, two of which were spent by the new recruit in Africa, often engaged in fighting guerillas. By contrast, Portugal's African soldiers are mostly volunteers, amongst whom absenteeism or desertion in the face of the enemy was and is insignificant. It may be said quite fairly that the few who did desert or go absent were outnumbered by the guerillas who went over to the Portuguese.

The situation to which we have just referred would have been inconceivable on the assumption that Africans enrolled in the Portuguese Army up to the present had joined up under duress or for purposes solely of material gain. They were paid as little as their white brothers-in-



arms; and the meagreness of this pay was, incidentally, one of the complaints amongst Portugal's metropolitan units, which produced the discontent that led to the recent coup. Most of Portugal's black soldiers come from warlike tribes and are of physically tough stock. And it should be remembered that warfare within the tribes of Angola, for example, has gone on sporadically ever since the Portuguese first set foot in that vast territory more than five centuries ago. As late as the beginning of the present century, African chiefs not only reigned, but ruled effectively in the interior of Portugal's African territories. Some areas, like the Benguela district of Angola, have always been relatively peaceful. But the Dembos, to quote one of very many examples, were an altogether different kettle of fish.

Conditions, naturally enough, have changed enormously in Portuguese Africa in recent years. As with any government anywhere, the Portuguese Government with its Administrations in Angola and Mozambique were equipped with the means of coercion necessary to impose their will on individuals and social groups. However, in order to do so effectively for any length of time, most governments must enjoy a reasonable degree, at least, of credibility in the eyes of their subjects. It is this that the Government of Dr. Caetano in Portugal would appear to have lost in metropolitan Portugal. At the time of writing (May, 1974), it would not appear that the same lack of credibility has existed or does, indeed, exist in Portugal's African territories. Had it done so, then, surely, the black soldiers of Portugal's armed forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau would have refused to obey orders or deserted in large numbers to the guerillas. This would not appear to have occurred up to the present, though the situation in those territories is admittedly an increasingly fluid one.

There are other factors which should be borne in mind when discussing the armed forces of Angola and Mozambique and, to a lesser extent, of Guinea-Bissau.

In Angola, the Portuguese army faces three insurgent nationalist movements. The first is the GRAE, the so-called

"Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile". It is led by Holden Roberto, a Baptist, who enjoys considerable backing by the Baptist Church in the United States. Baptist missionaries have backed Roberto's revolt to the hilt ever since its start, marked by appalling massacres of white and black men, women and children, in March, 1961. GRAE operates from abroad and Holden Roberto enjoys the support of President Mobutu of Zaire; at one time it had that of the late President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Its forces in the field amount to approximately 5,000 partisans split up into small hit-and-run units. GRAE partisans operate in the traditionally irridentist Dembos area, but Roberto's claim to control its one million inhabitants appears to be grossly exaggerated, to say the very least.

The second partisan movement in Angola is that of the MPLA, "The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola". It numbers 3,000 and is led by Agosthino Neto, a lapsed Catholic and Marxist. By and large it stands for the trojan-horse method of Communist infiltration. It is torn by internal and ideological divisions within itself and Neto's leadership is, at the time of writing, being challenged by one, Chipenda, Neto's erstwhile second-in-command and, to judge by externals, a Moscow trained, card-carrying member of the Communist Party. Neto's own Communist Party affiliation is somewhat more nebulous.

The third partisan movement is really a group, rather than a movement; a grouplet, in fact. It is very tough and is called UNITA. In all probability, its members are the only truly indigenous revolutionaries in the whole of Angola and they are of an unbending Maoist caste. They have up to 300 partisans inside Angolan territory, mostly south of the railway town of Luso Six. Sometime ago, they were forced out of adjoining Zambian territory.

In Mozambique, FRELIMO is led now by Samora Machel, a trained staff officer who attended a military academy in one of the satellite countries of Europe under an assumed name. He has brought some strategic sense of purpose and some tactical coherence into FRELIMO's fight-

ing forces. During the past three years, these have turned themselves into a fairly efficient fighting machine, but in the course of doing so, they have alienated large sections of the indigenous population, including the Makonde tribe in and around Capo Delgado. FRELIMO is amply supplied and well armed with Russian, Russian-satellite and Chinese weapons and equipment. It could be compared with the Communist guerillas fighting in South Vietnam. It has bases on foreign territory, in Dar-es-Salaam, Mtwara and a string of forward operation posts along the Tanzanian-Mozambique frontier. Undoubtedly, it has scored some successes in the past and it is ably commanded in the field; but to call it a "Mozambique Liberation Movement" would be quite out of accord with the facts. The late Eduardo Mondlane, its one-time leader, was well aware of this and tried to disentangle FRELIMO's war of independence, as he saw it, from the pressures of would-be foreign allies. This meant in their eyes that he had to go. He was murdered in Dar-es-Salaam. The excuse that his death was the work of PIDE was recognised as so ridiculous that the charge was dropped from the mass media of concerned countries after only a few weeks.

It remains to say that in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, the partisans who skirmish with the Portuguese are even more blatantly foreign-inspired and led than is the case elsewhere. Their interest in the future welfare of the populations whose freedom they purport to be struggling for is close to nil.

From what has been said in this article, it will be realised that discussion since the Portuguese coup has tended very much to overrate the guerillas as a coherent movement representative of the inhabitants of Portugal's African territories. By contrast, it has very much underrated the coherence and, indeed, the spirit of Portugal's African troops who have been defending them. The future may well bring a trial of strength between the two. It is difficult to say, at this stage, what its result will be and where it will lead.

This third and concluding article in John Eppstein's series "The Anti-Portuguese Campaign: a Critical Examination" has been rewritten and readjusted to take into account the coup which overthrew the Caetano Government in Portugal at the end of April and the events which have followed it, particularly in Portugal's African Provinces. It is extremely topical and deserving of close study.

# The Portuguese Revolution

*The Issues in Portuguese Africa*

JOHN EPPSTEIN

THE Portuguese Revolution of April 1974 radically altered the political factors of Portuguese Africa.

Instead of a conservative Government in Lisbon maintaining the military defence of its African Provinces against wars of subversion waged by revolutionary guerilla groups from neighbouring countries, we have a Left Wing Government, installed by successful military mutineers, anxious to end its defensive commitments and apparently willing to hand over the Provinces to these groups. So ends, we are given to believe, the last of the European Empires: the final victory of anti-colonialism is in sight.

The story is not so simple when one looks at the very varied groups of human beings concerned. To begin with, despite all the insistence of President Antonio Spínola,<sup>1</sup> now the figurehead of the victorious Armed Forces Movement, upon the right of the African peoples to determine,

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<sup>1</sup> In his book "Portugal and the Future".



according to their particular wishes and customs, their own political future, the April Revolution was a purely European Revolution, the consequences of which are being imposed upon Portuguese Africa. The Africans in the two States of Angola and Mozambique and the Province of Guinea were not consulted at any stage about negotiations with the "liberation movements" against which so many of them had been fighting for a decade or more in the regular forces and the militia. It was not the Muslim leaders of Guinea, of whose "secular Mandingan institutions" General Spínola had written with such respect, who were invited to treat with the PAIGC, but a European Socialist, Senhor Mario Soares, now Foreign Minister in Lisbon. It was not any representatives of the Macua, for instance, whose tribal group, also mainly Islamic, constitute almost 40 per cent of the population of Mozambique, who were involved in approaches to FRELIMO, but a Socialist lawyer of Lourenco Marques, Dr. Almeida Santos, now Minister of Inter-territorial Affairs, himself a supporter of that Movement. It remains to be seen how a deal between the Portuguese Government—a curious mixture of politically inexperienced soldiery, Socialists, Communists and Liberals—and the militant "liberation movements" can be sold to the bulk of the population in the African territories.

### *The Controversy Transformed*

This raises a point of basic importance. The question is no longer whether these territories should be retained by, or detached from Portugal—the great controversy of the last fourteen years which gave rise to the intensive anti-Portuguese campaign. It is whether their people should be enabled freely to determine their own political organisation and choose their own governments, as General Spínola had proposed, or whether they should be handed over to Communist rule. The compromise between the two solutions, the former to which the senior members of the Junta appear to have rallied, the latter, which appeals to the

younger more radical officers and the Marxists in the civilian government, appears in the proposal that the "liberation movements", once they have "laid down their arms", be invited to participate in the referenda which will decide the future of the countries concerned and in their political life. This is how General Costa Gomes, Chief of Staff and colleague of General Spínola, expressed the idea in answer to questions at a Press Conference which he gave in Luanda a week after the coup in Lisbon.

"The guerilla groups now fighting as nationalist freedom movements will be accepted as political parties, but only on condition that these movements cease their activities and lay down their arms. I do not believe that these movements have a fraction of the support within Angola, Mozambique and Guinea that the outside world has been led to believe."

Alas this seemingly reasonable formula is completely unreal. It is true that the actual guerrilleros of FRELIMO, PAIGC and the rival Angolan "liberation movements" are small in numbers compared with the population as a whole, or even with the Portuguese Africans in the defence forces. It is also true, and this confirms the contention of Spínola in his book, that "the majority of Africans are at present on our side"—that after 13 years of conflict in Angola, 10 or more in Guinea and Mozambique, the guerrilla groups have not been able, despite their exaggerated propaganda, to subvert or overrun the greater part of the territory. But the three main guerrilla organisations at least, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC, though they certainly contain fervent African nationalists, are organised, trained and accustomed to act entirely as instruments of the revolutionary war. They have the power and logistic support of the Soviet Union—with the competing support of China in East Africa—behind them, the blessing (for what it is worth) of the United Nations, and the whole force of the fanatical propaganda campaign which we have been studying in previous articles, particularly among the Radicals of the western

world. Further, the very politicians to whom power has been provisionally handed by the military in Lisbon, Senhor Mario Soares, the Foreign Minister, and Senhor Alvaro Cunhal the Communist Minister of State in particular, are personal friends of the guerrilla leaders, who are themselves members of the Portuguese Communist Party. Hence, for instance, the intense propaganda "build up" of FRELIMO in the febrile political atmosphere of Lourenco Marques as the inevitable future government of Mozambique. To imagine, therefore, that the leaders of such an organisation will simply argue its case peaceably as one political party among others within these countries is extremely naive; for the terrorism of the revolutionary war is their distinctive *modus operandi*. We are much more likely, I fear, to have the tragic farce of the Vietnam cease-fire all over again with FRELIMO, PAIGC or MPLA playing the part of the Vietcong in a continuous civil war. The circumstances are of course different; it is the tribal realities which count in Africa. Further, outside the cities (e.g. Lourenco Marques, Luanda, Beira, Benguela) in which a certain number of intellectuals, as well as the beginnings of organised labour, provide opportunities for the activity of revolutionary cells and industrial disruption, it is the question of which side is the *stronger* which weighs most with the African countryman.

Until the April Revolution the Portuguese, except in the troubled centre of Mozambique, were evidently the stronger. But no one can prophesy with confidence the consequences, in the very varied conditions of central, southern or northern Mozambique, the interior of Guinea or Eastern Angola, of the weakening of Portuguese authority and of the morale of the European military, almost all of whose commanders have been removed for political reasons.

### *Efforts at Peace*

While the political developments of the next few months cannot, therefore, be foretold with any confidence, are there

any moral issues upon which a judgment can be made? In the first place, those of us who judge by Christian social standards must welcome the prospect of even an imperfect peace, after a decade and more of senseless and unnecessary killing. As one who has consistently argued for a long while the duty of peace-making (which inevitably involves some compromise), as against the crazy piling of fuel upon the flames of war to which Catholic and Protestant followers of the revolutionary syndrome have committed themselves, I can but welcome a gesture such as that of President Léopold Senghor in sending his personal aircraft to bring a Portuguese Minister to Dakar to meet representatives of the PAIGC, whatever may be the outcome of the subsequent negotiations with them and FRELIMO in London, Lusaka or elsewhere. It was the first break in the log-jam of African intransigence since delegates of the newly independent African States, egged on by the fanatical *American Committee on Africa*, abruptly broke off the conversations with Senhor Francisco Nogueira which had begun under the chairmanship of the Secretary General of the United Nations at New York in October, 1963. This was more than two years after the blood-thirsty onslaught of the UPA upon Northern Angola, but before the more sophisticated "liberation campaigns" of the Communist-controlled guerrillas had started against that province, Guinea and Mozambique. It is only right to recall now the sound advice of Lord Home (as he then was) speaking as head of the British Delegation at the United Nations Assembly that same year when he criticised the independent African governments for

"contemplating what they call 'wars of liberation' to alter the direction of Portuguese colonial policy or to compel South Africa to abandon *apartheid* measures . . . The lesson of the 20th century is the same for African, European or Asian: force can solve nothing and, however strong the political emotions which inspire the desire to employ it, they must be resisted. Wars of liberation are none the less wars,



and it is wars that must be stopped. A nation, it is true, must reserve the right of self-defence in case a neighbour runs amok . . . but example and negotiation, patience and persistence are the only legitimate means of changing the status quo."

Sir Alec held firmly to this same position on his visit to Dar-es-Salaam in February 1974 when replying to the diatribe of the Tanzanian Foreign Minister in favour of war against Rhodesia.

While the Socialist Ministers who came to power in the United Kingdom next month make no secret of their sympathy with the African "liberation movements", one can only hope that the turn of events will deter them from abandoning this policy of opposing violence as a justifiable means to the end of self-determination, a policy which H.M. Governments have consistently followed during the whole period of decolonisation.

### *Spínola's Vision*

When it comes to weighing the rights and wrongs of the alternatives available for the future development of the peoples of Portuguese Africa, one can only lament the probable eclipse of the high hopes raised by the humane and rational blue-print for the transformation of the Portuguese community so lucidly traced by Antonio Spínola in his remarkable book *Portugal e o Futuro*. Still, it is important to understand it, since his great personal prestige in Portugal justifies a faint hope that some of his plan may yet be saved. There was nothing indeed very novel in his argument that a war of subversion could never be won by purely military means—American, French and British experience in Indo-China, Algeria and Ulster confirms it. But it was this point which, because of the great weariness in Portugal with the long period of conscription and overseas service, was seized upon, out of its context, as a means of getting off the African hook. It caused the young revolu-

tionary officers, who had planned for a coup in August 1974 to advance the date to April, when the short-sighted obstinacy of Admiral Americo Tomas and his advisers in dismissing the popular Generals Spínola and Gomes had provoked such widespread exasperation. But Spínola had no intention of abandoning the Portuguese Africans, who form the majority of the 25 million citizens of the Republic and to whom he was devoted. His proposal to conciliate Senghor's pan-Africanism, for which, as a political philosopher no less than as a practical soldier and administrator, he had conceived a great respect, with membership of the Lusitanian community, was designed to offer a common basis of agreement both to the population within the pale and also to the genuinely nationalist, as distinct from Communist elements, on the other side. He writes, for instance

"I believe I can affirm with the authority of personal experience that the greater part of the African population is with us—as is the case of the majority in Guinea. But there is no certainty that it always will be, and at any time it might cease to be—irreversibly. The people I am sure are still on our side, but they will be so no longer, if they feel thwarted of the realisation of their rightful aspirations to a better life and of full participation, at every level and in perfect equality, in the political and economic life of the nation to which they belong . . . Further . . . our objective in the present situation must be, not only to secure the adherence of the population (as a whole), but also of the bulk of those fighting on the side of the enemy; and this cannot be obtained except by political means."

This leads him to see the main task of Portugal—while the army holds the fort and continues with the civic services of which he had made such a success in Guinea—as the removal of the political and ideological obstacles to the full and equal development of its African peoples. It was the only means of keeping the Portuguese community (*o todo*

*Portuguese*) together and ending Portugal's isolation.

The greater part of his book is devoted to the ways of accomplishing this end. He is an unqualified, even naive democrat. Every citizen, of whatever race, whether literate or not, has an equal right to participate. "A referendum of secret individual votes" is the way to discover people's real feelings. The hegemony of the European component part of the Republic must be destroyed and, most of all, the pretension of the ruling faction of Europeans. This must be replaced by a union or federation of metropolitan Portugal with its Islands, the African and Asian provinces on a basis of absolute equality. In the Portuguese State, distinguished by its heterogeneity and geographical separation, it is folly to confuse unity with uniformity.

"We must accept totally and without subterfuge the right of the peoples to self-determination and liberty, by means of their own institutions democratically constituted . . . and the exercise of internal sovereignty, without limitations or delegations other than those which they themselves determine."

In the latter part of his book General Spínola examines at some length the advantages and the risks of a federation of states, taking account of existing examples of federation (e.g. U.S.A., Brazil, U.S.S.R.) and concludes that it would be the best solution. European Portugal (called Lusitania, perhaps) would be one autonomous province or state among others (as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Timor), with Ministries restricted to its purely internal affairs. There would be a Federal President and Assembly—the majority inevitably non-European — elected by all the component parts and Federal Ministries only for foreign relations, defence and finance.

### *The Future Prejudiced*

All this would be completely compatible, as I see it, with natural justice and Christian social principles. But it

is too good to be true, unless it can be realised progressively, in conditions of order and security; and it is, alas, just these conditions which are being destroyed by the Revolution. Spínola, it is true, gives in his book a realistic appreciation of the policy of the Soviet Government and the reasons why, "though it has the power to provoke at any time an uncontrollable aggravation of the situation in Portuguese Africa, it derives ideological advantage from keeping 'the fires of internal tension' alight". *"Thus the Communists today prefer their adepts to be martyrs rather than policemen"*. What, however, he cannot have foreseen was the capacity of the Communist Party in European Portugal, in alliance with the young officers planning the Revolution, to seize the political initiative, once the existing authority was annihilated and all its restrictions destroyed on April 25th, and to give, with its Socialist allies, a decisive push to the existing campaign for the total exclusion of Portugal from Africa. It is indeed difficult to see how the very desirable plan for the genuine consultation of the populations by referendum can survive this "jumping of the gun" by small well-organised political minorities in the few days following the soldiers' revolt. None of the Ministers whom General Spínola agreed (or was constrained) to appoint in the Provisional Government has, of course, any electoral mandate. It may be that General Costa Gomes is right in saying, in his Luanda press conference which I have quoted, that, though the Communist Party had been the first to come to the fore because it had been the only organised underground party, "he was sure that it would not prove to be a major one". But possession is nine-tenths of the law; and before the promised general elections in a year's time in European and African Portugal can provide real evidence of popular feelings, the Left-Wing policies so vigorously pursued by the provisional Socialist and Communist Ministers must create *faits accomplis* that cannot be undone. Their capture in June of the majority of municipal councils by the manipulation of mass meetings will serve their purpose when the general election is organised. Communist



participation in the Government has already nullified the important part played by Portugal in the naval dispositions of NATO; and in Africa Senhor Soares' dealings with FRELIMO and the PAIGC, with their claims to government, has undermined the morale of administration and defence and seems likely to prejudice the freedom of political choice promised to the population.

Passing from these political speculations to the concrete realities of the moment, there are in particular two basic facts to bear in mind. One is that, quite outside the sphere of political theory, all the complicated life of an organised community, legal, administrative, commercial, financial, economic, social, educational and religious, with its roots in the past but now in the course of rapid development, is going on in Angola and Mozambique, and on a smaller scale in Guinea. It is not yet clear what impact the European Revolution will have on such peaceful activities in those very different countries. The other fact is that, while the efficiency of the Portuguese armed forces has been diminished by the Government's negotiations with the insurgents, the terrorist activities of the latter have in many places continued with undiminished savagery.

### *Evidence of Social Well-Being*

As to the first, the whole picture of actual conditions, particularly in Angola, belies the idiotic and obsolete slogans of forced labour, etc., of the anti-Portuguese campaign, which we have studied in earlier articles. As in all countries, there are instances of bureaucratic inefficiency and uneven wealth, but it is nonsense to pretend that there either is or has been for a generation a state of oppression which could conceivably justify the violence of revolutionary war and armed intervention. As for agriculture, which accounts for most of Mozambique's production, just as coffee until recently headed the list of Angolan exports, it is thirteen years since the Code of Rural Labour became law, with its safeguards against any compulsion; minimum wages period-

ically increased; paid holidays, free housing, transport and food (with an option of taking the equivalent in cash); accident and illness insurances, etc. A well-paid labour inspectorate has given the rough end of the stick to any ill-behaved employers. In 1964, for instance, there were 11,000 inspections in Angola and fines totalling \$115,000 were levied for infringements of the code. This vigilance has achieved its purpose. In the mushroom growth of industries, which soon added to the employees of railways and ports many thousands of workers in the petrol industry, iron mines, steel works, engineering projects and a mass of new factories, wages compared favourably with those elsewhere in Africa. But it was not difficult, once the authoritarian State's prohibition of strikes was abolished, for agitators to bestir natural ambition and cupidity to produce demands for 100 per cent increases in the docks of Lourenco Marques, at Cabora Bassa, at Lobito or on the busy Benguela Railway in Angola. This will put a break upon economic growth but it is unlikely to stop it, with the advantages of regular jobs and wages which it brings to an ever greater proportion of the African population. Per capita income in Angola rose from \$161 in 1962 to \$333 in 1970, the highest of any Black African country and from \$121 to \$228 in Mozambique. Growth rates in Angola and Mozambique during that period were around 9 per cent. Between 1962 and 1969 Angola's industrial production trebled; its trade surplus for 1973 surpassed all expectations, with exports worth \$765½ million. Crude oil, diamonds and iron ore swell the State's revenue, in addition to the familiar agricultural products, particularly coffee. The drive for education increased the number of primary schools<sup>2</sup> from 2,011 in 1961/2 to 4,943 in 1972/3 in Angola, and from 3,469 to 5,498 in the same period in Mozambique. During these years the number of secondary schools, including technical schools, increased from 70 to 252 in Angola and in Mozambique from 91 to 248. The building involved and the

2 Mainly in the villages, contrary to the misinformation given in the Catholic Institute of International Relations' "Brief".

training of the 26,000 teachers for all these schools (which are of course quite distinct from the mission schools), mostly within these two States, has been a phenomenal task. The young Universities of Lourenco Marques and Luanda have the most up-to-date equipment and are expanding rapidly.

The ignorant Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, endorsing its first financial grants to the terrorists in 1971, had the impudence to state that in Angola "health and social welfare programmes are almost completely lacking". The fact, as every authority on tropical medicine knows well, is that Portugal is in the forefront of the fight against endemic diseases. Mobile dispensaries are busily at work combatting sleeping sickness, malaria, leprosy, etc., and there is an incessant campaign of inoculations—over half a million against cholera last year, for instance, in Angola. In that State today there are 1,347 health establishments, including 396 government hospitals, apart from missionary hospitals and maternities; and in Mozambique 362 such hospitals—that is one hospital bed for 400 inhabitants in the former, one for 600 in the latter (cf. 1 for 800 in Kenya, 1 for 700 in Tanzania, 1 for 1,870 in Nigeria). Heaven knows there is much to be done in these countries, where 75 per cent of the population are still primitive peasants, before subsistence farmers can be converted to a money economy, before all the children of school age can be educated and before prosperity can be more evenly spread. The opening up of vast areas for better agriculture and cattle breeding, as well as industry, is the object of the irrigation and electricity projects centered upon the great dams, now a-building, Cabora Bassa on the Zambesi, and the Cunene complex in Southern Angola—against which the spoiling operations of the terrorists and their foreign supporters are directed. But the whole atmosphere of these countries is one of betterment and visible progress. As David Holden writes<sup>3</sup>.

"In education and health services, roads, farms and industries both Mozambique and Angola have

<sup>3</sup> *The Sunday Times*. July 15th, 1973.

crammed a century of development into ten years."

Such are a few of the normal aspects of life, to which so much human effort is being directed in these two States today. And what have the MPLA, or Holden Roberto's killers in Zaire, or the FRELIMO to offer in place of these useful developments of society? Nothing so far but violence and destruction accompanied by clap-trap propaganda against the supposed evils of "Fascism". Too slowly no doubt, but with a constructive objective, the Caetano Government had converted Angola and Mozambique into semi-autonomous states with Legislative Assemblies, having real power and budgeting authority and their own mechanism of executive government. All literate citizens are eligible as electors, with the result, of course, that African voters, though there was too little public interest in elections because of the lack of opposition, already formed a great majority of the voters. This system the improvised Revolutionary Government in Lisbon necessarily accepted, though a handful of Marxist demonstrators—mostly European hairy hippies—impeded the meeting of the Mozambique Legislative Assembly, with its African majority, in a disgraceful scene (duly publicised by BBC Television): the Assembly has since resumed its session. In Luanda the authority of the Legislative Assembly does not seem to have been challenged. In Bissau—where it is all black—the demoralising effects of 'Mr. Soares' concessions to the PAIGC and the latter's infiltration have begun to erode its authority.

Quite evidently the impact of the European Armed Forces' Revolution has had a different impact upon the institutions, economic and public life of each of the three territories. Guinea, militarily beleaguered on all sides, is the most vulnerable. Mozambique, with most of its European community concentrated in Lourenco Marques, dependent for its prosperity on South African exports and imports and quite out of touch with the state of feeling 1,000 miles to the north, is more subject than Angola to the maelstrom of European politics; there FRELIMO, for all its bloody



record, has, since Modlane's time had a more substantial intellectual following of Marxist Nationalists in the towns than have the other "liberation" movements. At a time when an immense effort and great capital investment was being devoted, not only to the Cabora Bassa scheme, but also to the development of the excellent port of Nacala in the north and ambitious road-building programmes, the Revolution — added to FRELIMO's interruption of the Beira-Salisbury-Zambia and Malawi rail traffic—has meant a great setback to the economy.

It is in Angola with its sound financial situation and booming economy, little affected so far by the rival and ineffective terrorist activities on the borders, and its more efficient administration, that there is a better chance of development towards effective independence.

### *Terrorism "the New Form of War"*

The systematic use of terrorism against the civilian population by all the "liberation movements" remains the most flagrant violation of natural morality, and the reason why, though the forces of order may be discouraged from offensive operations so as not to prejudice negotiations, defensive actions are indispensable. In particular, even if the European troops are withdrawn to their laagers, the African militia of the many *aldeamentos* in Mozambique and Angola are bound to defend themselves as best they can against the murderous raids of FRELIMO, MPLA and UNLA gangs from Zaire. Though the methods of "revolutionary war" differ somewhat in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique there have been certain common features. The first is always the "selective terrorism" which consists in assassinating tribal chiefs or village headmen, *sobas* as they are called in Portuguese, thereby leaving the little communities leaderless. "Detribalised socialism" is the doctrinal formula of these crimes. Forty-one *sobas* were murdered in the Tete district of Mozambique alone in 1971 in preparation for FRELIMO's intensive campaign of in-

filtration from Zambia the next year. Then comes the man-hunt, to provide the necessary cannon fodder for the "liberation movements". The captives are driven off into the bush or over the frontier, selected youths to be press-ganged into the guerrilla force and indoctrinated, the majority, including women, to be used for servile purposes and portorage. There has thus been a continuous dislocation of the border populations until the Portuguese succeed in grouping the majority of people in the large new villages or *aldeamentos* where they can be armed to defend themselves and have the schools, water, medical and welfare services, etc., which are impossible for scattered kraals or nomads. The numbers who escape from the terrorists or are recuperated by the Portuguese army are large—16,000 for instance in 1973 in Mozambique; many thousands more over the years in Angola.

Most of the civilian casualties are caused by small parties of raiders (usually 5 or 6) attacking groups of huts or farms, and by the mines and bombs planted in paths or even hidden in bundles of firewood or thatching—2 men killed one day; 8 wounded by a mine the next; 3 women killed and as many wounded elsewhere; 9 dead and 15 kidnapped in another village, etc. And so it has gone on, day after day and night after night, with occasional lulls for ten years. Intermittently there are heavier attacks, such as the ambushing and massacre of a coach-load of workers on their way to a coffee farm, or the burning of a whole village by a larger gang. Attacks have often been on a bigger scale in Guinea, where centres of population such as Farim, Olossato, Pirado or Buruntamu are within easy range of raiding parties from the Republic of Guinea or Senegal and are bombarded with mortars, long-range rockets and artillery. Recently the most serious developments for the Portuguese have been the savage night attacks by FRELIMO gangs of as many as 50 or 60 on the *aldeamentos* intended to provide security for the countryfolk in the Tete and Beira districts. For example, on Sunday night, January 6th, 1974 a gang attacked the *aldeamento* of Nhacambo, eighty miles north-

east of Tete, from all sides, "survivors had the impression that the terrorists were drugged; they were armed with Simonov and Kalashnikov automatics, mortars and rocket launchers as well as cutlasses and axes". The riflemen of the village militia fought them off as best they could, enabling the majority of villagers to take refuge in the bush, but five children, seven women and five men were killed, several disemboweled, and 31 people wounded: 160 of the 183 houses were burnt down.

No swollen totals of civilian victims are given in the deadpan Portuguese monthly military communiqués in the three Provinces; they are mostly an accumulation of such local incidents, comparable to the toll of IRA bombing in Ulster. Here are some of the recorded figures for various periods: in Guiné between 1970 and 1972, 474 civilians killed, 1,684 wounded; in Angola in the same period 675 killed, 921 wounded; in Mozambique between 1964 and the end of 1972 FRELIMO murdered 689 and wounded 1,625, and in 1973 killed over 200. This is the routine activity of the "liberation" movements which American and British churchmen, the British Labour Party and their fellow Socialists have been financing; and the blood of these innocent African people is on their hands.

While the whole purpose of the Portuguese armed forces has been to protect and help the local population, for obvious national reasons, there have undoubtedly been cases, hard to avoid in rural guerrilla warfare but none the less deplorable, when African Commandos, sent in to flush out the terrorists suspected of hiding in village huts or using civilians as a screen, have gone berserk and killed innocent people too. We in Ulster have also had our Black Sunday. These "reprehensible acts", the Army Authorities assert, are completely contrary to orders; they are certainly exceptional and the guilty are punished. For instance, out of 3,657 operations in Mozambique in 1971, ten cases of alleged misconduct were investigated at Army headquarters and seven of them found to be criminal; in the next year, five cases were reported in the course of over 6,000 opera-

tions, one of which called for disciplinary action, while another was subject to investigation.

The position of foreign priests in these disturbed areas is almost impossible. While, as in the case of all expatriate missionaries, including those in India, Zaire and other independent African countries, they are under an obligation to respect the laws and policies of the state in which they are serving, the general commitment of their orders and societies to the prevalent Catholic and Protestant support of African nationalism makes them inevitably suspect, justly or unjustly, of favouring the terrorists. Some, like the Spanish priests deported in 1973 after imprisonment in Lourenco Marques, are quite evidently and ardently of extreme left-wing sympathies, as of course they are entitled to be, so long as they do not mix politics with their spiritual mission. What, however, is radically unjust and untrue is the attempt of clerical propagandists to swell the anti-Portuguese campaign by sweeping allegations against the Portuguese army, as if it were the main cause of civilian suffering, without any mention of the cruelties methodically perpetrated "as a new form of war" (to quote the Vatican Council) by FRELIMO and its equivalent terrorist organisations in Angola and Guinea.

### *Conclusions*

1. The general conclusion which seems inescapable, in the light of the principles of natural morality which must be our guide, is that, however generous the emotions of those who have been persuaded to give their support to the "wars of liberation", as they are called, against Portugal, they have been misled by a deliberate and continuous falsification of the facts.

2. These "wars", all initiated and waged by relatively small groups of insurgents based in foreign countries with the object of subverting the citizens of Portuguese Africa, fulfil none of the conditions of just war or just rebellion.

3. They were not the only necessary means of righting



a grave violation of justice, for no such violation existed at the time, still less does it exist now, as could justify resort to organised bloodshed; nor, even assuming the honest belief of the African leaders that they had a good cause, was fighting undertaken *as a last resort*.

4. In any case, however strong the argument for severing African territories from an European metropolis, this cannot itself justify the systematic killing of men, women and children with a view to forcing such severance. Still less can it excuse such violence now that the free choice of independence is offered to each of the Portuguese overseas provinces.

5. There has, in fact, been no national or general uprising in any of the Portuguese African provinces; therefore there is no case for external intervention to assist such a rising.

6. The systematic reliance of the insurgents on terrorism of the civil population as their main method of warfare is itself both a continuous violation of the natural moral law and evidence that they lack the support of the people.

7. As for the Portuguese, there can be no question that they have in fact exerted their natural right of self-defence; no government faced with the murderous onslaught of March 1961 from the former Belgian Congo (Zaire), and with the subsequent subversive incursions from other neighbouring countries, could do otherwise than resist force by force. The merits or demerits of the Portuguese system of government are no more relevant to the exercise of this basic natural right than was the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union to the right of the Russian people to defend themselves against the Nazi invasion of their country in 1941. In the present case, the exercise of this right is shown in its most obvious and poignant form day by day as peaceful Portuguese African villagers defend themselves, their wives and children locally from violent physical attack by the terrorists.

8. Peace, however difficult or even humanly impossible its attainment may seem, should therefore be the firm objective of Christian people. It is not just being peaceful

but peace-making, which was blessed by Our Lord in His Sermon on the Mount. Objectively, there is no reason why there should not be, first, peaceful coexistence, and then fruitful intercourse and commerce between the peoples of the independent African countries and the multi-racial communities of the Portuguese territories, now being enabled and urged to participate fully in the tasks of self-government and enjoying, as we have seen, social, economic and cultural conditions, which compare very favourably with those of any African society. *The walls of ideological hatred which have been artificially built are the chief obstacles to reconciliation.* It is these which all good men should labour to demolish. The generous proposals of President Antonio Spínola offer a constructive prospect of pacification. They deserve support, while the totalitarian ambitions of the more extreme "liberation" leaders, which portend not peace but tyranny, must be opposed.

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# Check to the Dutch

JOSEPH CREHAN, S.J.

THE Supreme Court of the Catholic Church is the Segnatura, which has the task of watching over the administration of justice in the Church. On December 30th, 1971, its Cardinal Prefect addressed a letter to the Dutch Cardinal Alfrink the like of which has seldom been sent out from Rome. This letter was published eventually at the end of 1973, in a journal that circulates among Catholic moral theologians; but, since its contents are pertinent to what has been reported in *Christian Order* about the state of Catholicism in Holland, it may help to give here some idea of what was involved.

The point at issue was the practice of matrimonial courts, held by the Church in Holland, giving decrees of nullity on inadequate grounds. Five points of doctrine about the sacrament of marriage were listed which the Segnatura said were being disregarded. First of all, the one-to-one indissoluble partnership of man and woman in Christian Marriage was said by some of the Dutch to be an ideal which all should aim at, but not a law that was binding. Secondly, consent to a marriage was not to be regarded, according to the same Dutch theologians, as something that was laid down statically at the moment of entering upon the contract on the wedding day; but was to be regarded as something that developed in the course of married life. An attempt was made by the Dutch to justify this new concept by the familiar tactic of Progressives, who present as an alternative "Either/Or" what is really for the theologian a "Both/And" situation. Consent must be entire, or it is not consent; but the Vatican Council, which the Dutch had cited, did not throw out the idea that marriage was set up by a single act of consent; it added that the community of life and love which followed that consent was also important, though not an alternative way of regarding the marriage contract.

The three subsequent points of doctrine were consequences of the new Dutch theology. This claimed that there was a distinction to be drawn between the will to marry and the will to stay married, and that it was for the two parties to the marriage to determine whether by the success or failure of their living together they had or had not this second will. If they judged they did not want to stay married, it was for them to come to the Church matrimonial court, so that the judges there could either approve or reject their decision when all circumstances had been weighed. In practice, this was to plant the concept of irremediable breakdown of marriage fair and square in the matrimonial jurisprudence of the Church.

The ecclesiastical courts in Holland had proceeded to implement this new theology by calling psychiatrists to testify whether the parties had any prospect of living in harmony together, whether they were truthful about past unhappiness, and what the culpability of each partner might be in the breakup. Then the judges would decide whether the parties should be set free from their bond, with an injunction, in case of culpability, that they must not enter on another marriage, or, if inculpable, that they might now enter upon a civil marriage with another person, without at the same time incurring any Church sanction for doing so. The justification of this procedure was alleged to be the Vatican declaration that the Church is a society of sinners, on pilgrimage to a better life.

The Dutch bishops had allowed their courts to expedite marriage cases by an experimental set of rules which Rome now declared *ultra vires*, since the bishops could not dispense from the ordinary rules of procedure of matrimonial courts in the Church. The concept of "moral impotence", which was alleged to consist in an incapacity to live together happily and at peace, and to be a cause for regarding a marriage as null and void, was a complete novelty in Church law, since the only moral impotence that could be admitted was an incapacity for giving consent, or for understanding what marriage was about, which existed at the



time when the marriage was solemnized. The Dutch bishops were told that they allowed contradictory ideas to operate when their judges accepted that two parties were incapable of a happy married life and then allowed them to go off and seek other partners.

In no uncertain terms Cardinal Alfrink was told that the idea of judging a marriage invalid because of what happened *after* it had been contracted, meant the overthrow of all marriage law. It would forever be impossible to tell whether a marriage was valid or not, if one had to wait to see how the parties "made a go" of their contract or failed to do so. The use of the concept of moral impotence by the Dutch judges was contrary to the practice of the Church. Then in grave words the Dutch Cardinal was told: "It is clear that a local church cannot act against the doctrine and practice of the Church Universal, for only that church is truly a part of the Church in which the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is operative. Pluralism may be allowed in various details, but in essentials no local church may depart from the Universal Church or from the rest of the local churches". The pastoral reasons alleged by the Dutch were trivial, since they involved a greater solicitude for human situations than for the natural law and revealed religion. Even the Dutch judges themselves admitted that their proceedings would scarcely be upheld in any other land and that in Holland itself many of the Faithful were opposed to them, being scandalized at the damage done to fundamental human rights.

Finally, Cardinal Alfrink was told that he should ponder his letter with his fellow-bishops and that judges who refused to conform to its directives should be removed from office. Although the letter was sent more than two full years ago, not a word of it has been whispered in the Catholic press, which is so ready to trumpet abroad the latest and most eccentric innovations of the lunatic fringe.

Those who make ongoing revolution the essence of Christianity contradict the teaching of Christ and his Apostles as well as that of the Church from earliest times until the present day. What we ask in this article makes the Christian revolutionary tick nevertheless? Why does he take up a gun in the name of Christ? What moves him to do so?

CURRENT COMMENT

# The Church and Revolution

*2: What Makes Them Tick?*

THE EDITOR

I CAN still remember the appalling faces of those who heckled the anti-abortion marchers as they made their way from Hyde Park to Downing Street that Sunday afternoon at the end of last April; appalling because, quite literally, they appalled us who marched in that their owners were so young and yet, at the same time, so tired, so hard and so sad. These, I said to myself as I passed them with their screaming ringing in my ears, have never known childhood, never wondered at the world and thanked God for it, never known what it is really to be alive; all they can do is hate, in a futile endeavour to give meaning to the taintiness of their threadbare lives. Faces screwed up in anger, leering at us in patches along the route, the faces of revolution; of those at war with their world because, basically, at war with themselves. Faces out of Hell.

As I write these lines, I ask myself, what is it that makes Catholic priests and nuns side with that lot? What makes them, in defiance of the Gospels, two thousand years of Church teaching and, indeed, the whole experience of mankind, embrace ongoing revolution and anarchy as a way of life?

## *The Meaning of Ongoing Revolution*

It is important to notice the qualification. We are not dealing here with the case of a particular revolution against tyranny. Catholic teaching allows that against a tyrannical oppressor, though guardedly, and as a measure of last resort. What we have nowadays, however, is something very different. That to which very many progressive clerics and religious are now pledging their lives is best called ongoing revolution. By this one means a continuing, almost institutionalized assault on what is vaguely thought of as the evil of oppressive structures, which, it is alleged, do violence, by their very presence indeed, to the human spirit. Obviously, there are strong Marxist-Leninist overtones in this concept, particularly in its social expression as an attack that never ceases against capitalism and colonialism, which is thought of, quite unhistorically, as its bastard child. But there is more to the roots of the present yearning for ongoing revolution than this. It is not only, or even primarily, the Marxist categories that make its protagonists tick, though it is certain, of course, that Marxists are using their revolution to great advantage. Behind the contemporary clamour, I believe very strongly, there is a longing for liberation through confrontation that owes much, indeed, to Herbert Marcuse, as its latter-day prophet, but whose roots lie deeper in that warped desire to find wholeness through the casting off of all restraints, which has constantly manifested itself in history and which has its origins in man's first sin in the Garden of Eden. Now as then, the confusion is between autonomy and freedom; the more militant of those who would find fulfilment in independence of God are driven to break with every value, law and custom, every shred of authority that is perceived, however dimly and subconsciously, as having its origin in Him. In order to find their true selves, then, the protagonists of ongoing revolution must be at war with the world around them however dim its trace of God, with what they call the establishment. Their religion—the faith they live by—is one of attempted self-realization through confrontation, which

must, of its nature, be constant and cumulative because no part of it is capable of yielding them their heart's desire. Thus, the revolt or revolution to which they commit themselves in order to find themselves must, of its very nature, be ongoing; the establishment they attack must always be there because their workaday world is always there. For the militant idealists amongst them, its most obvious concrete expression is found in contemporary capitalist society and what they think of (wrongly) as its colonialist and/or neo-colonialist exploiting counterpart. This is the real evil. Here are the violent structures that oppress the poor. It is these that must be overcome by conflict, best seen, in their jaundiced eyes, as defence against a system which is, by its very nature, an aggressor. It is against these violent structures that the revolution must be turned. Their religion is here, in the struggle itself; the conflict is their God. The militant revolutionaries of today would liberate themselves in their struggle for the liberation of mankind. They find themselves in confrontation; this, at base, is why they engage in it. For them and for the theologians whose writings spur them forward, praxis is all.

### *Structures a Substitute for Devils*

Things come clearer now. It is easy enough to see how some priests and sisters, ignorant of what poverty of spirit means and impatient, in consequence, for Instant (material) Utopia, oppressed by the material poverty they see about them, especially when living in countries where Christianity is thought of as having failed, but where, in fact, it has never been really tried, can fall victim to the arrogant pleading of a Harvey Cox and his following of Catholic demythologizers, who see Satan, whom Christ personally confronted in the wilderness, and his following of devils as no more than a projection of the primitive mind of that time (in which Christ, they imply, fully shared); whereas the real devils, according to Cox, are the oppressive social and political structures, which deny men the freedom that brings fulfilment. This, in their eyes, is the real evil against



which Christians must turn themselves. The invitation is an open one and seized only too eagerly by generous, but materialistically-minded priests and nuns whose pathetic longing for a temporal paradise, which most identify with Socialism, is matched by an ignorance of history and economic circumstance that can only be described as profound, and an approach to the realities of political life that it would be an understatement to describe as utterly naive. This, then, is the way in to the revolutionary vanguard, which too many priests and sisters have taken.

### *Other Roads to Revolution*

There are, of course, other ways, some already touched on. The bogus "theological" ideal of total liberation, as preached in some Church quarters today and already described, has driven others into the revolutionary fold. So, too, has the Teilhardian evolutionary ideal, which carries, by implication, a denial of Natural Law and bids a man find himself through immersion in the movement of history. Then, there is the denial by so many in the Church of original sin, which is implicit in the denial of angels good and bad, and which must lead, Cox or no Cox, to the denial of Christ's divinity for, if there be no original sin, then there can be no question of Man's Fall. Where, then, is the need for Christ's Redemptive Act? Once that is out, his work on earth can be seen not in terms of Redemption from sin and the gift of supernatural newness of life, but simply in those of super social reforms in aid of a temporal paradise, identified by many "Catholic" teachers these days with collective salvation. If there was no original sin, no fall and, therefore, no need for Christ's Redemption, his work on earth, according to the clerical liberationists of our time, could only be to confront the unjust establishment of his day, to drive against oppressive structures. Therefore, his followers, to be true to Him, must do the same as He did. The Christian, then, is a revolutionary in virtue of his calling; his job as such is to wage revolution; Christ talks to and for him out of the barrel of his gun. The newness

of life the Christian militant looks for and which Christ promised him is not set in supernatural terms; it is very much of this earth: as a Christian, his first and essential task is, through revolution, to build a new Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. There is no other task worthy of his calling. And, in the building, he will discover his true self and what, in fact, Christianity really means.

### *Earthiness of the Contemporary Church*

Thus, there are several lines of approach travelled by those who substitute revolutionary involvement for the Faith of their Fathers. Too many priests and sisters have travelled them; too many of them, coarsened in the process, have travelled out of the Church. It must be said quite frankly that they have been helped to take this false step or, at least, not held back from taking it by the almost ceaseless talk of social justice which has been thrown at the Faithful—often with very little understanding of the real issues involved—from almost all official quarters within the Church. During the past few years, I am afraid, the Church has become a very earthy place indeed; its tone, at so many levels, increasingly secularized, its failure to realise the longing of its people for the things of the spirit quite appalling. At the same time, where the Faithful have been bored and, indeed, scandalized by the new Horizontalism, materialistically-minded zealots amongst them have taken fresh heart and seen the new tone in the Church as an invitation to involvement which, for them, means revolution. Meanwhile, the mass of the young are bored and drift away.

### *Revolution the Highest Good*

I would like to stress a further point. I think it is important: if, for the revolutionary vanguard in the Church, original sin is out, as personal to the individual, and replaced by the collective evil seen as intrinsic to established and oppressive structures, then it follows at once that revolution, as distinct from reform, represents the highest

good because it is action taken directly against the greatest evil there is; namely, that which is inherent in the collectivity of established structures. Reform, on this analysis, of the sort advocated before the Vatican Council, means no more than playing with evil; it is lacking in authenticity because it tolerates evil, even temporarily, and ends in most cases, as it is bound to (Marcuse), with the absorption of the Christian reformer into the establishment of his day. The revolutionary Christian militant, therefore, is at one with Lenin in the scorn he pours on any kind of revisionism: for him, the social encyclicals are out; they are amongst the most dishonest documents of the day. Revolution is all.

### *Revolutionary Violence is not Violence*

Again, for the contemporary Christian revolutionary, though direct revolutionary violence against the collective evil of established structures represents the highest good, it must not be seen really as violence. It is, rather, self-defence against the oppressive violence inherent in contemporary social, economic and political structures. Thus the Christian revolutionary in pursuit of revolution can do no wrong. The revolution has but one morality and one moral law identical, in fact, with that of Marx. Representing, as it does, the highest good, it follows that all actions in its service are good, all those opposed to it are bad. The revolution is its own criterion. There follows the ghastly consequence that the Christian guerilla fighter has not merely the right, but the duty to eliminate all those who are found to conspire—positively or, indeed, negatively, by their very presence—with the establishment in which collective structured evil, which is the Christian revolutionary's replacement for original sin, is always found to reside. The evil the revolutionary fights, the sin he seeks to overcome is, on his own thesis, collective, shared by all who are attached, however tenuously, to an evil establishment whose structured violence oppresses mankind. This means everyone except the Christian revolutionary; it includes us all. Having sorted us out in his arrogance, he

makes us all his legitimate prey. The area of our workaday lives is his killing-ground; but when he does kill, however, he does not really kill; he simply defends himself justly against collective violence to which hostages, hijacked travelers and murdered bank clerks are all made parties if their presence serves his purpose or blocks his way. As the distinguished French Dominican, Pere Andre Vincent, has written in a work soon to be published:

“Once the overwhelming necessity for justice has been absorbed into the absolute necessity of conflict, the *success in that conflict is what counts above all else*. No law, no scruple of conscience, can be set above Revolution. What is good or evil is determined by what is necessary for successful revolutionary action; justice and injustice are whatever strategy demands they should be.

In revolutionary action, then, what is right or wrong in the ordinary sense is replaced by what is efficacious, and this substitution is not of the sort found with ordinary kinds of violence or common crimes, but (as in war) is made in response to the call of a higher duty. Yet revolutionary war differs from war of the classic kind in being subject to no regulating conventions or international agreements, and more than that in being subject to no supreme and persisting moral law which remains in force to judge human acts. In revolution war itself is the supreme law.” (*Revolution et Droit*)

This, then, is the road down which the theologians of revolution would lead the Church. It leads straight to Hell.



When trade unions choose to strike rather than obey the law, when even nurses resort to strike action despite the promise of an independent inquiry and the backdating of any award, it is surely time to undertake a full examination of the rights and also the responsibilities of the trade unions. Readers are invited to judge the morality of current developments in the field of industrial relations in the light of the principles set out in this article.

## The Rights and Duties of Trade Unions

J. M. JACKSON

THE repeal of the Industrial Relations Act in the near future is now probable. Is this repeal desirable? The Act may not have achieved very much, but there is also a principle at stake, whether or not the conduct of industrial relations should or should not be subject to the rule of law. This issue was, of course, raised in an acute form by the action of the AUEW in refusing to pay damages awarded against it by the Industrial Relations Court and the subsequent calling of a strike in protest at the action taken by the Court in enforcing its award. The immediate problem in this respect was eased by the payment of an appropriate sum into Court by an unknown donor, but this still leaves the question of the Court's authority in a rather doubtful state. If any individual or organisation can defy the Court, and hope that, if it can make sufficiently serious threats, it will be able to blackmail some third party into paying up, then the outlook for law and order is hardly bright. There appears to be an increasing number of individuals and organisations who seem to think that they have a right to obey

only those laws they happen to approve of.

In this article, I propose to examine the whole question of the rights of trade unions and then to look at the arguments regarding the regulation of industrial relations by means of the law.

### *The Right to Strike*

Trade unions seem to assume that there is an unqualified right to strike. This, however, is by no means so. The individual worker may, in the majority of situations, have an absolute right to leave his job if he is dissatisfied. Even in the case of the individual, he is subject to such conditions as may have been made in a fair and freely negotiated contract of employment. In the ordinary course of events, a factory worker would be entitled to leave his employment on giving the week's notice that is customary for manual workers. Those employed at higher levels may often be required to give longer periods of notice, a month or even three months. Strike action, however, is quite a different matter from the individual's exercise of his inherent right to change his job. Strike action differs in two respects. First, it is collective action, and secondly the strikers are not exercising a right to leave a job and take another but to stop work with a view to coercing the employer to employ them on new terms which they are dictating. Such action may be justified, but only if certain conditions are satisfied. The right to strike is far more restricted than the right of the individual to take another job.

It must be stressed at this stage that what we are considering is the right to strike, that is for a group of workers to decide collectively to withdraw their labour. The wider issues of picketing and similar measures which may be adopted during a strike will be considered later. The mere withdrawal of labour is in itself morally neutral. Because an act is morally neutral, neither right nor wrong, it does not mean that it is always permissible. It must be judged by the circumstances in which it is performed and the objectives

in view. An act which is morally wrong, on the other hand, is never permissible, no matter what the objective. The statement that the end does not justify the means is misleading. The end can never justify an immoral means, but where the means is neutral it will be justified or condemned by the end in view.

An act which is morally neutral may be permissible if performed with a view to achieving an end which is good. A strike, therefore, may be permissible if the workers have a just cause. It may, of course, be very difficult to determine the justice of a cause. In general, it is difficult for any person to be an impartial judge in a matter where he is closely concerned. We cannot assume, therefore, that strikers are justified in withdrawing their labour in support of a claim for what *they* think is a fair wage. A strong case can be made for reliance upon arbitration or similar machinery for fixing wages in preference to a trial of strength between two sides seeking to impose their own ideas. In recent years, governments have felt it necessary to exercise some measure of control over wages in order to limit inflationary pressures. Trade unions have been quite irresponsible in the size of their claims and in rejecting the role played by unreasonable claims in forcing up prices. Despite imperfections in all incomes policies so far adopted in this country, we should recognise that the government has not only a right but a duty to protect the community from the serious consequences of inflation, that unreasonable wage increases are an important cause of inflation, and that the trade unions have no right whatever to try and breach laws framed for this purpose.

Even where the workers have a just cause, it does not follow that strike action is justified in support of it. An action which is going to have adverse consequences for some individuals or enterprises cannot be justified if it is unnecessary to the achievement of some desirable end. It is therefore wrong for a union to decide to take strike action before it has tried to secure a settlement through other means, or indeed before it has exhausted the available

means of achieving a settlement. If there is machinery for arbitration, for example, this should be used. Nor should resort to arbitration be rejected on the spurious ground that arbitrators are not impartial. There is no evidence whatever that in Britain arbitrators have been anything other than impartial. The unions have sometimes claimed that the impartiality of arbitrators was undermined merely because the government of the day had made known its own views on the need for moderation in wage claims. Nevertheless, such expressions had no binding force on arbitrators, and the unions could only have feared that impartially minded men would have been more influenced by the reasoned statement of the government's view than by their own extravagant claims.

Furthermore, the unions must take account of the proportion between the good they are seeking and the harm which may result from strike action. It would be quite wrong to take action which would cause great hardship to a large number of people to right a minor injustice. A particular group of workers may feel, and rightly, that their pay is less than most other workers are getting for the exercise of a comparable degree of skill and responsibility. They are right to try and get this situation remedied, but they are not justified in taking the same kind of drastic action that would be appropriate to a group whose pay was so low that they could barely afford the basic necessities of life. Again, action which is likely to involve serious hardship for large numbers is only justified if there is a reasonable prospect of success.

Two further points must be made about the conditions in which strike action is justified. First, there is no justification for strike action which deliberately seeks to impose hardship on large numbers with a view to forcing employers to make concessions. It is never permissible to *intend* to cause evil and the use of evil can never be justified, no matter what the end in view. This principle has always been firmly upheld by the Church in the field of medical ethics and a vital distinction made between the deliberate

aborting of an unwanted child and the incidental destruction of a foetus in the removal of a cancerous womb. That same distinction between intending and permitting the evil effect is of equal validity in all spheres and there has been a deplorable reluctance on the part of many Catholics, priests and laity, to face up to the issue. Secondly, the trade unions cannot escape the responsibility for their actions by passing the buck. It may be true that the evil consequences would not follow if the other side made concessions. Nevertheless, by taking a particular course of action the unions have created the possibility of certain consequences, and if these materialise the responsibility is theirs. Others may share a measure of blame, but that does not reduce the unions' responsibility for the consequences of the policies they choose.

### *Picketing*

So far we have been concerned with the simple withdrawal of labour. What rights have workers beyond the simple action of walking out? The law has, for a long time, recognised the right of peaceful picketing. If a group of workers at a factory decide to strike, they may try to persuade other workers there to support them, or perhaps persuade transport workers not to take goods away from the factory. The most they have any moral right to do is to indicate by written notices that they are on strike and invite others to give them a measure of support. I cannot accept that they have any right at all to stop other workers and to try and persuade them by verbal argument. Such a right is defensible only if it could be guaranteed that it would not be an occasion for more than verbal argument. Clearly the strikers have no right to compel anyone to stop and listen to them, and even if a person agrees to stop there is a danger that the argument will become heated. Given this danger, it is preferable that the striker should be legally barred from taking any steps to persuade a person to stop and listen to his arguments. The suggested amendment of



the law to allow the strike pickets to stop vehicles is a monstrous interference with the freedom of the subject. Moreover, it is another instance of giving trade unions a privilege which is denied to all other sections of society. Nobody else has the right to stop a vehicle on the public highway. It goes without saying that the resort to violence by pickets can never be morally justified, and where this has occurred the pickets have rightly been prosecuted with the full vigour of the criminal law, though a fair number of Leftists appear to regard organised groups of thugs as heroes.

There is a limit to the kind of peaceful picketing that is permissible. There is no right, for example, for a group of workers who have a complaint against their employer to try and persuade workers in other fields to down tools as well. Miners on strike have no right to try and stop oil deliveries to power stations or bus workers to stop people using other means of transport to get them to work. (Such action is almost certain to be wrong because it involves violence or else involves a deliberate intent to cause harm to innocent parties.)

### *The Closed Shop*

Another issue of great importance is the closed shop. Trade unionists have tried to insist that they have a right to work only alongside fellow unionists, and put this forward as something that is at least as logical as the right of the non-unionist to work alongside those who do belong to unions. The fundamental right, however, is for a man to work. If he works, he has a right to join with fellow workers and form a union. It does not follow, however, that he has the right to insist that nobody should be allowed to work unless they join the union.

Quite apart from the fundamental issue, whether a union has the right to insist upon a closed shop, it can be shown that in practice a closed shop is bound to involve such serious risks of abuse that it is to be condemned, especially

in a situation where unions are not subject to a strict rule of law. If a closed shop operates, it means that a worker cannot work if he cannot obtain membership of the union or if he is expelled from it. At the very least, a closed shop is totally immoral unless certain conditions are satisfied: first, that all suitably qualified workers are permitted to join on reasonable terms; two, that expulsion from the union is allowed only for reasons that are objectively reasonable\*; and that the procedures for the enforcement of union rules are satisfactory in their compliance with the rules of natural justice. But a close examination of the rules which would be appropriate if a closed shop were to be permitted in special and rare circumstances suggest that it becomes in effect a non-starter.

### *The Rule of Law*

We must now turn to the question of whether it is appropriate to legislate on the subject of industrial relations and to bring unions and employers into the Courts. Before trying to answer this specific question, it is perhaps desirable to try and establish the proper role of the law in general. In July, I argued in an article on subsidiarity that the role of government should be kept to a minimum. There are many important functions the government must undertake, but it should not do things itself when it would be quite possible for individuals and voluntary associations to do them instead. The government should not step in unless it is either much more efficient than any other body or there is no real alternative. This, however, is not an argument against legislation. Legislation does not necessarily mean the government taking over certain functions from others: often it may only mean prescribing the conditions within which individuals will work. Whether individuals should be free to do as they please or subject to a framework of laws may depend upon the exact circumstances we are considering.

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\* It is not enough that the reasons are acceptable to the trade union movement or even to the community as a whole.

Laws are of two kinds, positive and negative. In other words, they may require people to behave in a particular way, or they may stop them doing certain things. For the most part, laws, whether imposing positive obligations or prohibitions, create only a minimal framework for the functioning of society. It is not appropriate to legislate for all the things that people ought to do, or to prohibit all acts that are in some sense wrong. Laws should be concerned with those obligations or prohibitions that are essential for the smooth functioning of society. If a wrongful act has no harmful consequences for others, there is no case for legislation banning it. The law does not prohibit theft and punish those convicted of theft because theft is immoral but to protect the rest of society from the thief. Moreover, in a society where theft and murder were unknown there would be no need for laws forbidding them. Legislatures will pass laws relating to the problems actually confronting their societies.

There can be no valid argument that industrial relations are not a suitable subject for legislation. It is the duty of the State to protect the legitimate interests of all members of society. If industrial relations are in such a happy state that no damage is done to anyone in the absence of legislation, then there may be little point in bringing industrial relations within the scope of the law. This, alas, is not the case. Employers and workers may suffer heavily through strikes; the wider national interest is damaged when industrial troubles hamper exports or when extravagant wage claims are conceded and inflation makes exports uncompetitive. Individual workers may be deprived of their livelihood when trade unions seek to impose a closed shop.

Whilst the trade unions try to argue that the law is not an appropriate instrument for the control of industrial relations, they do in fact accept a substantial measure of legal intervention in this field. The law has, in recent years, amended the contract of employment by insisting upon certain conditions regarding the period of notice to be given workers and restricted the right of the employer to dismiss

workers without adequate cause. Why, then, should there not be some legal framework governing collective bargaining over wage claims and other conditions of employment? The trade unions made a great fuss over the provisions in the Industrial Relations Act concerning enforceable bargains, despite the fact that there was a right to specify in any bargain that it would not be legally enforceable. What is wrong with enforceability? Does real freedom mean the freedom to enter into an agreement on the understanding that there is no mechanism for enforcement so that one is free to break it as soon as one wants to?

What the unions are claiming is not freedom but licence. To impose a reasonable framework of laws for industrial relations (as in any other field) is to uphold rather than restrict freedom. Of course, it may be argued that legislation in this field is impracticable, that it will not work, that it will embitter industrial relations. This is no argument against legislation to prevent injustice and oppression, whether in the field of industrial relations or elsewhere. If individuals or organisations are not prepared to abide by the law it will be necessary to impose really powerful sanctions. Men have, undoubtedly, a right to join together in voluntary organisations, but where the behaviour of these organisations not merely breaks the law but denies the validity of the law itself the organisations forfeit all rights.

# Readings at Mass

FRANCIS FENN, S.J.

I HOPE you looked up the reference to Hebrews 13,2 last month. This month we are back with Abraham again, and in Hebrews. Chapters 11 and 12 might be headed "the faith of our ancestors, and our own perseverance". Four readings are given from these chapters, and they open (Aug. 11) with a description of the effects of faith rather than a definition of it. This may be translated: "Faith gives assurance of what we hope for, and conviction of realities we do not see". The assurance is about the future, and it is based on a conviction that present heavenly realities are not an illusion. In our case this means the redeeming work of Christ; in the case of the Old Testament heroes it meant the promises of God and his fidelity.

Our reading omits Abel, Enoch and Noah, and goes on to Abraham. Saint Paul in Romans 4 (cf. Gal.3,6-9) had already proposed him as the prototype of the Christian believer. Here, his faith is shown in his obedience to God's command to migrate to Canaan (Gen.12,1) and in his confidence that his descendants would possess the land, though he himself (and Isaac and Jacob after him) would only be sojourners in it. The author interprets this as an indication that Abraham knew that his permanent dwelling would not be anywhere on earth; in this he is made to resemble the Christian believer (13,14). In the final verse of the shorter form of the reading Abraham is described as "already as good as dead" (cf. Romans 4,19) because he was beyond the age for begetting children; and there is a quotation from Genesis 22,17 which follows the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, referred to later in our chapter.

Many more examples of courageous faith are given, and chapter 12 opens with this "cloud of witnesses" watching the race that we ourselves must run with perseverance (Aug. 18), stripped of every encumbrance and keeping our



eyes fixed on Jesus who has already won the prize (cf. Philippians 3,14). The Old Testament quotation at the beginning of the reading on August 25 is from Proverbs 3,11-12; and the last of the four readings is a contrast between the assembly of Israel, gathered at Sinai for the making of the old covenant (Exodus 20,18-21) and the assembly of those who have entered the heavenly sanctuary, the place of the completed sacrifice of Jesus on which the new covenant is based.

This is not called a new Sinai, but the new Jerusalem (Mount Zion), because it is not the place from which we are setting out but the end at which we have (all but) arrived. "You have come"—a present reality; for we are already, so to say, at the foot of the mountain, and we belong to it: the "now" and "not yet" of Christian existence in the flesh. It is not certain whether the *first-born* are the angels (in the sense of being created before man) or, more probably, the assembly of Christian saints (cf. Luke 10,20). Here is the RSV translation, for the benefit of JB readers (or hearers): "You have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven . . . and to the spirits of just men made perfect"—these are the men and women of the Old Testament spoken of in chapter 11 (see 11,40).

The author of Ecclesiastes, writing in about 250 BC, sees that man is totally unable to work out enduring happiness from his own resources. This is a step forward towards the doctrine of the future life given in the New Testament, represented in the parable of the rich fool (Aug. 4) by the last words: "So it is when a man stores up treasure for himself in place of making himself rich in the sight of God". It is not so much the man's sudden death that is emphasised, but his whole attitude to life, which contradicts the doctrine of the cross (Luke 9,23-25).

The Book of Wisdom was written in Greek about BC 50 (the last Old Testament book) for Jews living in Alex-

andria who were so impressed by Greek civilisation that they were in danger of losing their faith. The reading on August 11 comes from the second part of the book in which the author shows God's fidelity to his people in the greatest event of their history: the Exodus. In return for the slaying of Israel's male infants (Exodus 1,22—2,10) the Egyptians were punished on the night of the Exodus by the loss of all their first-born (12,29-32). The link between this difficult passage from Wisdom and the gospel reading is presumably our Lord's warning: "See that you are dressed for action"—in RSV "Let your loins be girded": words used in the instructions for the Passover meal (Ex. 12,11) and meaning that long oriental robes were drawn up and tucked into the belt.

On the following Sunday it is said of Jeremiah that "the fellow does not have the welfare of this people at heart so much as its ruin", and our Lord says he has not come to bring peace but division. But this is the consequence of his coming, not its purpose—a consequence foretold by Simeon in Luke 2,34. It was also the experience of the early Church (cf. Matthew 10,21-22 & 34,36). The fire, too, is a figure of judgement—the fire that will separate and purify those who are meant for the kingdom of God. But we can also see a broader likeness between the two passages: Jeremiah's enemies put him down a well to kill him, while the enemies of Jesus will bring him to his passion—a baptism into which he will be plunged (cf. Mark 10,38).

Can belief and unbelief go together? Does communism really aim at world domination? If it does, why is this not made known insistently to the peoples at risk? May a Catholic now be a freemason?

## Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

### Can belief and unbelief go together?

You are not, I know, asking if one can believe in God and not believe in Him at one and the same time. Nor are you, I should think, questioning the existence of genuine but imperfect belief as exemplified in the man's reply to Christ: "Lord, I believe. Help thou my unbelief". My guess is that you have in mind an earnest and, if challenged, an indignant profession of Christianity by someone who determinedly disregards the plain requirements of Christian living. If that is what you mean, then you are enquiring about two different kinds of faith which exist together in someone who is ready, as he would proclaim, to die for his faith but who can't be bothered to live it. That is a case we should examine, but delicately, because it may be our own.

Double-mindedness in faith can start with what is assumed to be the basic belief in God. It just does not see God, as do the clean of heart. St. James says, "Purify your hearts, you double-minded"; and if the purification were achieved God would be known in the heart as the supreme lovable mystery, the goal of every human life to be approached, with His unfailing help, in fear because He is the incomprehensible, and in love because He has shown Himself in the face of Christ. All our purposes must be measured, and either admitted or abandoned, against our overriding purpose of knowing, loving and serving God. Not to make the assessment is to have a faith which is

without works, and dead. We would not deny God, but neither do we assert Him in our behaviour; and we are a false compound of belief and unbelief. "The just man", says St. Paul, "lives his faith". Better be alive than dead!

**Does communism really aim at taking over the whole world? If it does, why are not communist plans made known insistently to the peoples at risk?**

I think communism has to aim at world domination, not just because communist theory looks to an ultimate triumph of the proletariat and a universal classless society but also because, so long as there remain countries which reject communism, there is a state of war, cold or hot, which the human race can't bear for ever.

Even the ordinary European observer, who observes very little and forgets today what he observed yesterday, is vaguely aware of the pervasiveness of communist power. He has a faint recollection of Russian intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and he knows, when he is reminded, that there is still a war in Vietnam. Occasionally he sees pictures of Russian naval vessels in the Channel or the Mediterranean. It may have occurred to him that behind the forces, Israeli and Arab, immediately opposed to one another in the Near East, stand Russia and the U.S.A. He may have been shaken by the fact that the recent "Oil Crisis", which affected all the countries of Europe, was settled without reference to those countries. What experts in foreign affairs and, of course, governments know is the frightening size and strength of the Russian armed forces, the measures taken by Russian and Chinese communists to prepare for take-overs in Africa and South America, and communist infiltration in the so-called free countries. They do not pass on their information to the general public. To do so would be to distract the ordinary citizen from his avid grasping of whatever an affluent society puts within his reach. Some of the governments may, indeed, prefer to blind themselves to the facts, lest

they be compelled to face their present impotence and unpreparedness.

### May a Catholic now be a freemason?

Until six or seven years ago, the answer would have been an unqualified "No!"; but in 1968 the five Catholic bishops of Scandinavia announced that, with the approval of the Holy See, they would allow any freemason convert to Catholicism to retain membership of his masonic lodge. You may now meet someone who is legitimately both a Catholic and a mason.

But notice that the approval by the Holy See is not of Freemasonry—a Vatican spokesman stated that the general condemnation of freemasonry still stood—but only of the solution by local bishops of a particular case. Freemasons cannot all be lumped together as subscribing to one clear body of doctrine and accepting one code of behaviour. In this country, masons are generally thought of by the public, and also by themselves, as a Mutual Aid Society, under distinguished social and ecclesiastical patronage. They seem to have good works without faith, and to present no danger to Church or State.

If that is true of British freemasons, a case could be made for admitting them to the Church without requiring that they abandon their freemasonry. But the case would be weak. The secrecy of the Order is unhealthy and suspect; and the favour shown by one member to another, in business deals and appointments in the professions, could easily lead to gross injustice. Besides, even the most innocent and innocuous of masons must bear some responsibility for freemasonry as a whole, since he accepts the name which covers the whole body; and masonic doctrine and practice are determinedly anti-Catholic. In dogma, freemasonry denies, directly or by implication, the divinity of Christ; in morals it rejects the Catholic concept of natural law, expressed consistently by the second Vatican Council. To take only one example out of many: in 1965, a meeting in Paris of four



hundred French and foreign members and associates of the masonic Grand Orient affirmed full approbation of "family planning", legal abortion, and "sexual education" in schools and universities. It is unthinkable that even the laxest ecumenism should receive such a body into communion.

What hope is there of a return from "mass production to production by the masses"?

If I understand your quotation aright (where is it from? It sounds a bit like Dr. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*, or E. J. Mishan's *The Costs of Economic Growth*.) I should say there is no hope at all until some dreadful catastrophe, approximating to Doomsday, has put an end to the gadarene rush of "Progress". The attractions of affluence, the greed for consumer goods, seem to have blinded mankind to what in life is truly valuable, and man is bent on the satisfaction of unsatisfying desires at the cost of self-destruction. Man's wonderful new discoveries of techniques—the effective means of making and doing things—have made technology the dominant science in human affairs. It brooks no rivals and it decides that "progress" means more and more *things* to be possessed and, it is supposed, enjoyed. No matter if the world's natural resources are used up or corrupted, technology will deplete the earth in its blind advance. The effects are plain to scientific investigators who issue their warnings that within the foreseeable future supplies of fuel will be exhausted, air will be unbreathable and water undrinkable, and sources of nuclear poisoning will be present on land and in the sea and will be indestructible.

The remedy proposed is that mankind stay at home and provide, in and around the home, for its own simple needs of food, clothing and shelter—what you call "production by the masses". What a hope! Home, now, is a container for gadgets—television, refrigerator, stereo equipment and anything else that you can afford and can plug in to an electrical point, with supplies piped in, or

fetched in from a super-market, and with a car to take you away from your mechanized box into a procession of other cars. Abandon that for a simple life and survival. What a hope!

Is it true that there can be temporary vocations to the priesthood and religious life?

No! Both kinds of call are made by God in His love, and the answer must be an answer of love. Well, love, of its very nature, is unconditional and permanent. Couples marrying know without need of instruction or explanation that they are dedicating themselves, each to the other, for life, and they have no reservations about the formula "for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death do us part". To give oneself on conditions is to give nothing—a conditional gift leaves the giver in possession of self and the receiver without security of tenure. A marriage which breaks down does so not because husband or wife has become, as the jargon has it, "another person", but because love has drained away. Love is for the person underneath all surface changes, as Shakespeare saw:

Love is not love

Which alters when it alteration finds.

The call to which priesthood and religious life are the response is Christ's unconditional "Follow Me". He sets no time limit, and the only condition for accompanying Him is that where He is His servant must also be. His own love is unfailing—"having loved His own, He loved them to the end." If the association with Christ in priesthood or religious life breaks down, the reason is that the one called by Christ is no longer returning the love which never fails. That the maintenance of the bond demands sacrifice stands to reason. Any loving relationship begins, continues, and is perfected by a steady selflessness. The bond with Christ begins with the abandonment of all things for His sake, it accepts a daily carrying of a cross step by step with Him, it shares His chalice, and it triumphs with Him in death and resurrection.

# Book Review

## MIND OF POPE PAUL

**The Teaching of Pope Paul VI**, published by Vatican Press; Redemptorist Publications; pp.361 in paperback; £2.00.

"In this volume we meet Pope Paul VI not only as a skilful teacher, a reassuring leader, but also an intrepid defender of the faith, a 'living Peter'. Whether he is speaking to the faithful crowding the audience hall, addressing men of state or talking to the world, he has one aim: to show forth the teaching church as witness, custodian, interpreter and transmitter of the doctrines of the Faith. Orthodoxy is Pope Paul's primary concern."

### *The Church and the Faith*

These are the opening words of the preface to the fifth volume of *The Teaching of Pope Paul VI* which has been published by the Vatican Press. There can hardly be any better way of studying the mind of the Vicar of Christ than to go through the 360 pages of this book. It covers a multitude of topics but in this essay we shall confine ourselves to attempting to discover Pope Paul's outlook on the Church. The first point we find him making is that the Church is custodian, transmitter, and interpreter of doctrines of faith. He discusses Revelation as the light of the Gospel, shining on a soul which has opened to its rays. The projection of light is Revelation. The opening of the soul is faith. The former, Revelation, is a fact, an event and at the same time a mystery which did not have its origin in the human spirit but came from a divine intervention. Here the Pope asserts a truth which has been contradicted by some of the Modernists of our day: "*Revelation is inserted in time, in history, at a precise date, on the*

*occasion of a specific event, and it must be regarded as concluded and completed for us with the death of the Apostles."* For us the Word of God is the Word Incarnate, the historical Christ, who continues to live in the community united with him through faith and the Holy Spirit, in the Church which is His Mystical Body.

This is how our doctrine is separated from the errors which have circulated and still crop up in the culture of our times. They are capable of ruining the Christian conception of life and history. "Modernism was the characteristic expression of these errors, and it still exists today, under other names", the Pope told his audience on January 19th, 1972. That is why the Catholic Church in the past and today has given and gives so much importance to the scrupulous preservation of the authentic Revelation. She considers it an inviolable treasure and is sternly aware of her fundamental duty to defend and transmit the doctrine of the faith in terms which are incapable of meaning two or more things. "Orthodoxy is her first concern; the pastoral magisterium her primary and providential function. The apostolic teaching fixed the canons of her preaching. The Apostle Paul's order 'Guard the deposit' is for her such a commitment that it would be a betrayal to violate it. The teaching Church does not invent her doctrines; she is a witness, a custodian, an interpreter, a transmitter." So spoke the Pope. He said that he was quite aware that there are some who call the Church conservative and uncompromising. There are some who want the Church to make her faith easier, more in keeping with the tastes of the changing mentality of the times. But to all these the Church answers with the Apostles: We cannot. God's original Revelation is transmitted through words, study, interpretation and application. The teaching authority of the Church receives and verifies a tradition. Sometimes she does this with authority that is decisive and infallible. Theology is the study of the faith and the teaching it sets forth. This can be expressed in different ways and different languages. When this happens we have what is called theological pluralism. It is quite

legitimate when a certain condition is fulfilled; namely, *that it must be contained within the limits of the faith and the teaching authority Christ entrusted to the Apostles and their successors.*

The importance of all this was brought home to me the other day. The Governors of one of our Catholic Colleges were interviewing a candidate for the post of head of the Religious Department. One of the Governors, a worthy priest with a doctorate who had taught in the seminary for many years, asked the young man if he believed that Catholic doctrine was fully revealed by God before the death of the last of the Apostles. The teacher said he believed no such thing. He was convinced that Revelation is an ongoing process, that God is always revealing more and more truths. When the priest told him that the doctrine of the Church is that the deposit of faith was completed before the death of the last of the Apostles, the candidate retorted that he could believe no such thing. In spite of it he was appointed to the post.

On the page of his book opened before me now Pope Paul remarks that he hears a great deal of talk about secularisation in the Church. He says that people call this renewal, liberation, the penetration of the Christian message in modern society. But he warns, this can never be done if it means a less worthy and integral following of Christ. We must be confident, strong and humbly proud to confess our faith in Christ even when it is unfashionable. Of course the Church needs to adopt life-forms and norms in keeping with the times but the true follower of Christ must be consistent, strong and frank. He must not be afraid to define himself like this and be ready, when the need arises, to proclaim his own privileged title of Christian.

A week later the Holy Father showed that he was aware of all that is being said in our day about idealism, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, magic and the like. But our first duty is to study properly the theology of the Holy Spirit and the realities that follow his action in our souls. These are, first of all, grace, then the seven gifts and then the twelve fruits.



We should study, too, the ways through which the Holy Spirit is normally conferred on us, prayer and especially the sacraments which are the vehicles of grace.

### *Peter, Foundation of Unity*

One of the most memorable talks included in the book was given by the Pope on the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. He showed how St. Peter is and always must be the foundation of unity. When Christ gave Peter the keys he invested him with power over the whole house. He told Peter also to fish for men. He was to approach them, get to know their customs and needs, be able to wait for them, adapt himself to their mobility, have the art of attracting them, a heart capable of loving them and wisdom to receive them. Jesus taught from Peter's boat. He used it as a chair. From it he ordered Peter to let down the nets and they became so full of fish that another boat was called to help them. St. Mark tells us how Jesus, sitting on a cushion in the stern of Peter's boat, mysteriously fell asleep. A sudden storm broke, the disciples, terrified, woke Jesus. He stood up and told the violent wind to abate and the sea to be still. At once there was a great calm. The Pope said that Peter's boat seems to stand for the changeable and relative aspects of the Church, which sails on the waves of time and history. While remaining essentially the same, continuing its one same journey, it has always to contend with different conditions and adapt itself to them. So, as the Pope said during Mass the following day, we must always have faith in the Church despite the smoke of Satan. We believed that after the second Vatican Council there would be a day of sunshine in the history of the Church. Instead there came a day of clouds, of storm and darkness, of search and uncertainty. Some people no longer trust the Church. They turn rather to the first profane prophet who comes along. Doubt enters consciences and Satan's smoke dims the brilliance of true faith. But faith and confidence must always prevail. Peter is always the foundation of unity.

Whatever the changes in the world around we must always trust and try to discern events with the mind of Christ.

### *The Church and Consciences*

We pass on now to a fine analysis by Pope Paul of the policy of the Church in the world of our day. He told an audience of diplomats that the Church must always remain separate and aloof from politics as such while being always present among the men of politics to educate, heal and sanctify, uphold the primacy of spiritual reality and inculcate respect for genuine rights and duties. He referred in passing to what he called the most disconcerting phenomenon of our time: the arms race. It represents a deep-rooted and distressing contradiction within the human family. This is one of the reasons why the Church must always be at work in the world by serving in a way that is brotherly, humble, and concerned. *She can never depart from her essential and specific task which is to educate consciences.* Her vocation is always to carry out the mandate of Christ which is to announce the Gospel and to serve others.

### *There Must be Law in the Church*

About the same time, the Pope spoke to the Tribunal of the Sacred Roman Rota. He pointed out that as the Mystical Body of Christ, the Church must be animated by the spirit of freedom, love, service and unity. But this does not mean that law is unnecessary. On the contrary, a community without laws has never been or can never be anything else but a community of absolute power. It cannot be a community of charity. There are those who use emotive words when discussing Canon Law. They speak of "juridicism" and wrongly describe this aspect of the life of the Church. In this way they try to justify the rejection and abolition of the Church's law. They even go to the length of incorrectly interpreting passages from scriptures, such as the words of St. Paul where he said that "a man is not

justified by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ" and "the law brings wrath but where there is no law there is no transgression". In our time, there is a bias against Canon Law due to a faulty interpretation of the teaching of the second Vatican Council. Those who proclaim it seem to believe that the Council intended to slacken the essential links within the Church. They complain of a tendency to multiply legislation. They feel compelled to "codify in newly manufactured canons the most varied and sometimes illogical innovations." The Church not only accepts and directs but promotes sound reform and desirable renewal. But she has no time for juridical novelties. *She cannot approve changes in practice which are new and highly debatable and may indeed spill over into the field of morals.* The result is that law, the natural law, civil law and religious law is eroded. Conscience has no clear knowledge on which to make objective judgements. It is said to be free and independent but it is really blind. It is "adrift and exposed to the opportunism of individual situations, or a prey to instinctive psychosomatic impulse, without any real order or proper control. It justifies itself instead by a false idea of freedom or by a sophistry supported by a widespread and so called permissive morality". Man without law is no longer man. The meaning of good and evil is obscured. Nothing is left of man's greatness and grandeur. We cannot abolish law but we can improve it. The new Canon Law of the Church must be more human and more clearly aware of the charity it must promote and safeguard.

### *Reasons for Turbulence in the Church*

Another passage which caught my eye is from an address by the Pope to the Cardinals on June 23rd, 1972. He said that he always turns to Christ and is sustained by trust in Him. This is all the more necessary because today "lack of confidence in the Church is strong in a certain number of Christians, even priests and religious; lack of confidence that sometimes reaches to a certain aggressiveness, but also

more frequently takes on the form of discouragement and disillusionment." He said that there are those who believe that the Church they once regarded as a strongly organised and coherent edifice is threatened in its unity. They have been upset mainly by three things: first, by criticism that has come to light in the past few years; second, by the uncertain nature of initiatives that are guilty of ignoring tradition; and, third, by the setting aside of practices of piety to which they were attached. People who have been upset like this tend to withdraw into themselves and to refuse to take their rightful place in the life and work of the Church.

On the other hand, there are those who deliberately refuse to trust the Church because they wrongly believe that she is entangled in institutions that have outlived their usefulness. They think that the Church should abandon elements which have distinguished her over the centuries in favour of the needs of the world and secularised society. They go so far as to say that the Church should renounce the certainties she has acquired. They think that the visible and institutional Church has become alienated from the new cultural situations, scientific and technical possibilities which characterise our times. *Much of this is due to an interpretation of the Second Vatican Council, which is false and unauthorised and would like a break with tradition and even with doctrine.* It repudiates the pre-conciliar Church and arbitrarily conceives of a new or re-invented Church, as it were, in constitution, dogma, morals and law. Some even go so far as to feel and preach the fascination of violence. This is "the new myth dawning in restless modern conscience". It proclaims a kind of liberation that is not the freedom of the Gospel, which springs from truth and charity. Those who advocate this kind of policy seem to believe that only unchristian sociologies will work. They trust blindly in these and cannot see the conclusions to which they lead. They are seduced by Socialism even when it uses ideas which are anti-christian such as systematic class struggle, hate and subversion.



## *The Place of Theologians*

The need for an authentic apostolate loyal to authority in the Church was stressed when the Holy Father spoke to the Professors and Students of the Gregorian University on May 13th. Comparing the situation now and after the Council of Trent, he said: "The needs and tasks of the Church are similar: faith sometimes endangered; the priesthood sometimes endangered; the priesthood ranking first among the values to be sustained and promoted; the need that theological culture should be raised to a higher level, as well as the holiness and spiritual life of priests; clear guide lines to be followed; and more than ever, the necessity of staunch loyalty to the Magisterium of the Church and, in the first place, to Peter's See, as the depositary of Revelation, the principle and visible foundation of the unity of faith and of communion". He pointed out that theology is deeply connected with the supreme teaching authority of the Church because they have the same root, divine Revelation. Theology and the Magisterium are complementary and auxiliary. The Magisterium owes much to the study of theology but theologians must be guided and strengthened by and be loyal to the Supreme Magisterium.

The Holy Father pursued this subject further a few weeks later when he spoke to the Cardinals on June 23rd. He referred to the harm done by reactions which seem "to be aiming at the destruction of the ecclesiastical Magisterium: by equivocating, whether about pluralism, conceived as a free interpretation of doctrines and the undisturbed co-existence of opposite conceptions, or about subsidiarity, understood as autonomy; or about the local Church, which is desired to be almost detached and free, and self-sufficient; or by disregarding the doctrine, sanctioned by pontifical and conciliar definitions".

Little wonder that Pope Paul should return again and again to the need of the Church to revive the Faith. "*Faith is the first need of the Church*" he said on September 27th. It is the root of our religion. It is the original bond which unites us together to form the Church.



## *The Devil is Real*

Another of the greatest needs of the Church today, said the Pope on November 15th, is "defence from that evil which is called the Devil". He went on to say that this question of the Devil and the influence he can exert on individual persons as well as on communities, or societies or events, is a very important chapter of Catholic doctrine which is given little attention today. It should be studied again. *To refuse to recognise the existence of the Devil as a reality is contrary to the teachings of the Bible and the Church.* Sin is separation from God, the source of life. But in its turn, it is the occasion and effect of an intervention in us and in our world of an obscure agent, the Devil. *He is an effective agent, a living, spiritual being, perverted and perverting. He is a terrible reality, mysterious and frightening.* We must fight him by grace, prayer, the practice of virtue and self-denial. We must be militant, vigilant and strong. We can never have a Church without difficult dogmas for that would be a Church without the treasures of the Faith. We can never have dogmas which are limited by mere human reason. We can never have a Christian way of life which is conformed to the way of the world.

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